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order to crowd so much material into a single book—and the proof-reading, which to be sure must have been extremely difficult, is not all that could be desired. A more detailed table of contents and a fuller list of “subjects and references” would have facilitated the use of the volume as a work of reference, a purpose to which its contents are admirably adapted. But it is doubtful whether there exists at present in any language a discussion of the literary problems of New Testament introduction which, in importance and for general utility, excels or even equals Moffatt’s work.

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### THE CONSTITUTION AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE EARLY CHURCH

There has been no debate in the field of church history within the last twenty years more fruitful than that between Harnack and Sohm over the charismatic organization of the church, a debate recently continued by Harnack’s rejoinder,<sup>1</sup> to Sohm’s *Wesen und Ursprung des Katholizismus*, 1909, itself a criticism of the position taken by Harnack in his article, *Kirchliche Verfassung und kirchliches Recht im I. und II. Jahrhundert* in the third edition of the *Realencyklopädie*, 1908, which, reprinted with some additions, takes up pages 1-120 of the volume under review. In the course of this debate during which each of these great scholars has derived much from the stimulating criticism of the other, one fact has been brought out with ever-increasing clearness, namely, that in the body of the Jewish traditions, claimed as their inheritance by the Christians from the very beginning on, is to be sought the distinctive principle or principles of the unique development of the Christian organization; further and more specifically, that in the Jewish conception of their nation as the people of God, and the application of this and allied conceptions made by the Christians to themselves is to be found the most illuminating explanation of the institutional development of the followers of Christ. That is to say, the Christians, thinking of themselves as the people of God, the *ecclesia*, failed to distinguish between the ideal,

<sup>1</sup> *Entstehung und Entwicklung der Kirchenverfassung und des Kirchenrechts in den zwei ersten Jahrhunderten*. Von Adolf Harnack. Nebst einer Kritik der Abhandlung R. Sohms *Wesen und Ursprung des Katholizismus*, und Untersuchungen über “Evangelium,” “Wort Gottes,” und “Das trinitarische Bekenntnis.” Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1910. xi+252 pages. M. 6.60.

invisible *ecclesia*, the community of the saints, and the visible community of the Christians, the church of God on earth, and so attempted to make the concrete and material correspond in form to an ideal, spiritual unity. From this attempt there resulted those efforts toward unity, at first in large measure unconscious but becoming more and more conscious in the course of time, which gradually developed a well-nigh resistless centripetal force.

On the weight and importance of this conception as a determining factor in the development of the Christian church, both Harnack and Sohm are in essential agreement. Perhaps nowhere is this harmony more effectually emphasized than where Harnack makes his brilliant rebuttal of Sohm's exposition of the origin of ecclesiastical law, showing that its origin cannot be assigned to Clement I's epistle to the Corinthians but that in this letter divine church law only received a marked stimulus to a development that began with the very earliest assemblies of Christians wherein there existed from the beginning that confused identification of the ideal, invisible church of God with the concrete, separate manifestations of it on earth in which Sohm, himself, elsewhere, agrees to find the origin of divine church law, Catholic church law, and Catholicism as a whole. So in this exposition Harnack has not rebutted Sohm in a principal point of his main contention. He has only pointed out to Sohm a correction in the application of Sohm's own theory, and in so doing has but made clearer and firmer the main contention of Sohm, and shown his own essential agreement with that contention, namely, that the unique feature of the development of the Christian organization is to be found in the carrying over of this conception of the people of God from Jewish tradition and in the attempt to carry out its terms in a practical organization. It is, indeed, Sohm's great contribution to have brought this fact out into the light, although all his work has been so closely interwoven with that of his great contemporary, Harnack, that it is almost a mutual contribution.

The significance of this contribution can scarcely be overstated, for in it the great question concerning the principle of organization in the Christian church finds its full and sufficient answer: not the organization of the Roman Empire, for all the oriental religions had the advantage of the same environment; not a bit of institutional borrowing here, or a bit there, account for the centralizing tendency that manifested itself with such unparalleled force and success in the growth of the church, but rather the steady, for the most part silent and unconscious workings and promptings of this comprehensive, all-enveloping conception bring those

characteristic reactions in church development known as the monarchical bishop, the councils, patriarchates, clear and conscious enunciation of the Catholic church, and finally, the most concrete expression of all, the Petrine claim. In short, when we ask why did the Christian communities in response to the multitudinous stimuli of their environment react inwardly so universally toward unity both in the local community and through the body of Christians in the empire as a whole, we will in every case find ourselves led back to this enveloping conception that the body of Christians through the empire is the people of God, the *ecclesia*, the body of Christ for which there can exist but one form of faith and practice, namely, the true faith and practice, which must ever be clearly ascertained and followed. In other words, this conception pressed everywhere for *unity*—unity of faith, practice, and organization.

It is because of the universal pervasiveness of this idea, being as it was the atmosphere in which the Christian organization grew up and by which its whole growth was shaped and conditioned, that one can say with Sohm that fundamentally, really, *subconsciously* for the early Christians there did not exist independent, local communities; there were only *appearances* of the whole *ecclesia* in which the word of God spoke and was authoritative. Illuminating and decisive for this point of view are the words of Christ, "Where two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them"; and the house groups referred to as churches. It is exactly, however, on this important point that Harnack joins issue most sharply with Sohm. Harnack, while recognizing the force of Sohm's rejoinder that every local community was thought of only as an appearance of the whole church of Christ, seeks to prove it wrong, but the attempt seems to reach no further than a denial. Nothing is plainer or more obvious for Harnack than the existence of local organizations that conducted themselves to all intents and purposes as independent communities. In support of his position he refers to the third epistle of John where is recorded the resistance offered by a community to the representatives of John who wished to subject the community to his authority. But resistance in any given case to centralization, to subordination of one community to another, did not necessarily mean that the resisting community thought of itself only as an isolated and absolutely independent unit; it only means that the resisting community did not recognize the authority of the bishop of another community as superior to the authority of its own bishop. That is, the spheres of authority were not marked out among the bishops any more than they were among the apostles. People

thought of themselves as belonging to an ideal whole; actually they were separate communities. Difficulties were bound to arise when they tried to realize in an actual organization their ideal conception of unity. Independence had to be sacrificed somewhere; but it would always be a question whose independence was to be sacrificed.

In two other points, both closely related to the question of the independence of local communities, Harnack is equally opposed to Sohm. In the first place, for Harnack, the independence of local communities means that there was a building of the church organization from the bottom up as well as a building from the top down; and, in the second place, he denies the charismatic character of the bishop's office. In other words, Harnack, while emphasizing the primitive identification of the Christians by themselves with the people of God, cannot see any in-workings of this idea on the local organizations until the middle of the second century. Much truer appears the view of Sohm who sees the charismatic principle operative in the choice of a bishop, and who by virtue of this fact sees not so much a building up or a building down as the constant operation of the one idea getting itself expressed now in one way, now in another, but always making for unity of organization. In support of this statement, Sohm brings a mass of evidence pointing to the fact that the bishop was from the beginning chosen as the representative of the apostles in a given community. So strong is the evidence that even Harnack has to admit that the bishop was possessed of some kind of a charisma, though he separates himself from Sohm by maintaining that the charisma of the bishop was different in kind. It is just at this point that his contention is weak and that he denies that charismatic organization came to expression as actually, if not as obviously, in the organization of the local community as in the persons of the original apostles who formed visible though not clearly regulated parts in the machinery of the church, considered as a whole. Under these conditions it was but instinctive that, when confronted by the gap left in the structure by the disappearance of the apostles, there should have been a movement to make the gap good, a reaching on the part of the bishops to grow up to the stature of full representatives of apostles, as they had always been representatives in part, and it is significant that there should have been apparently so little resistance to the movement.

It would appear, then, that while Harnack through his criticism has done much to supplement and modify the position of Sohm, the total result has been but to strengthen the argument for the charismatic

conception and organization of the church in all its parts from the beginning on.

This critique of Sohm forms with the preceding pages devoted to Harnack's own systematic presentation of the development of the church nearly three-fourths of the present volume, the remainder of whose space is occupied by three studies, "Das trinitarische Bekenntnis" (11 pp.); "Evangelium" (40 pp.); "Wort Gottes" (12 pp.), all of which have a more or less close connection with the constitutional development of the church.

In an effort to secure a sound foundation for a study of the church in England during the Roman Empire, Canon T. Scott Holmes was led into a thorough study of the origins of the church in Gaul. This subject he developed in connection with the Birbeck Lectures, 1907 and 1908, in Trinity College, Cambridge, and with theses for the B.D. and D.D. degrees at the same university. As the finished fruits of these labors, there has now made its appearance the present bulky volume of nearly six hundred pages,<sup>1</sup> a volume that may be said to do much toward meeting a want as yet unsupplied either by English, French, or German scholarship, and to be a careful piece of investigation, rich in detailed information.

While the book, however, gives the impression of being the result of much painstaking effort, the reader is pursued, especially through its earlier chapters, by a certain sense of insecurity, of incompleteness, the cause of which is hard to explain. In part it may, perhaps, not unfairly be traced to the point of view under the influence of which the author has written these earlier chapters. Through all of them runs a somewhat static view of the Roman Empire—a point of view which in general still maintains itself to the detriment of much of the current work on the Roman Empire. Had Canon Holmes put the spread of the Christian church in its proper setting as a part of the general westward flow of eastern things, all that he so well says about the spread and mutations of the Roman administrative system in Gaul, about the history of the church at large, especially in Italy, would have gained in interest and effectiveness. Indeed, such a point of view would have benefited nearly every aspect of the subject treated, especially in the earlier chapters.

Doubtless, too, some of the blame for this feeling of insecurity, or perhaps, confusion, must be placed at the door of the arrangement

<sup>1</sup> *The Origin and Development of the Christian Church in Gaul during the First Six Centuries of the Christian Era*, by J. Scott Holmes, being the Birbeck Lectures, 1907 and 1908. New York: Macmillan, 1911. xiv+584 pages, \$4.00.

followed by the author. Rather than a systematic presentation of the development of the church in Gaul, he has chosen to give us a series of interesting topical studies on the legends in regard to the early spread of the church, the persecutions, the development of monasticism, Gallic church Fathers, and Councils of the church in Gaul, etc. The author has gotten together much of the necessary material for such a synthesis, but nowhere does he make it. The matter is brought together in solution, but nowhere crystallized. To the reviewer it would appear that the value of the book would be greatly increased by the addition of a summary stating the author's conclusions with regard to the systematic growth of Christianity and the church in Gaul.

By way of minor comment, one is led to remark on the somewhat more than occasional roughness of the English, a roughness unusual in a man of Canon Holmes's training. Also, one regrets the absence of maps—an omission which distinctly lessens the book's effectiveness. Perhaps, too, a map might have led to some explanation of, or comment on, the tortuous route, referred to on page 563 followed by Columban and his guard: "Twenty years after he had been fully established at Luxeuil, Columbanus was driven into exile. The journey taken was at first that which he had already traveled, to Besançon, Autun, and the castle of Avallon. Then they crossed the Cure and came to Domescy-sur-Cure and soon after to Auxerre *and so to Nevers and the Loire.*"

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### GAIRDNER'S WORK ON THE LOLLARDS

Mr. Gairdner has given us an extremely valuable contribution<sup>1</sup> to a most important and interesting, although very complicated, subject. The gifted author was "brought up outside of all the orthodoxies," and for half his life the vital doctrines of Christianity were to him quite unintelligible, and so incredible. He is now a strong, unwavering Anglican. So established is he that he was intrusted with writing the fourth volume of *The History of the English Church* in the sixteenth century from Henry VII to Mary. He says: "I was merely a retired archivist, most of whose official time had been occupied in endeavoring to chronologize and arrange matter for real historians to utilize."

<sup>1</sup> *Lollardy and the Reformation in England: An Historical Survey.* By James Gairdner. 3 vols., Macmillan, 1908 and 1911. London: Vol. I, ix+578 pages; Vol. II, vi+506 pages; Vol. III, vi+415 pages. \$10.